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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND AND NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 25 September 1991, at 4 p.m.

President:	Mr. DUMAS	(France)
Members:	Austria	Mr. MOCK
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	China	Mr. QIAN Qichen
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. BECHIO
	Cuba	Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI
	Ecuador	Mr. CORDOVEZ
	India	Mr. SOLANKI
	Romania	Mr. NASTASE
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. PANKIN
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. HURD
	United States	Mr. BAKER
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. SHAMUYARIRA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 19 SEPTEMBER 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF AUSTRIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23052)

LETTER DATED 19 SEPTEMBER 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CANADA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23053)

LETTER DATED 20 SEPTEMBER 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF HUNGARY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23057)

LETTER DATED 24 SEPTEMBER 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF YUGOSLAVIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23069)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I have been informed by the Secretary-General that at this meeting of the Security Council the following other members of the Council are represented by their Foreign Ministers: Austria, China, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Zimbabwe.

The participation of so many distinguished Foreign Ministers of the States members of the Council is testimony to the significance of this meeting. On behalf of the Council, I wish to express to them deep appreciation for their presence.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Yugoslavia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Loncar (Yugoslavia) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the requests contained in letters dated 19 September 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/23052; 19 September 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/23053; 20 September 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Hungary to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/23057; and 24 September 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, contained in document S/23069.

Members of the Council have before them a draft resolution submitted by Austria, Belgium, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, contained in document S/23067.

I should also like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following other documents: S/22775, S/22785, S/22834, S/22898, S/22902, S/22903, S/22975, S/22991, S/23010, S/23047, S/23059 and S/23060.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 25 September 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as document S/23071.

(The President)

The first speaker is the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, His Excellency Mr. Budimir Loncar. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. LONCAR (Yugoslavia): I am faced with one of the most difficult trials in my life and in my long diplomatic career. It is truly painful to speak about today's Yugoslavia and about the tragedy of its people, for these are most grievous times we are going through.

This is the second time that Yugoslavia has been placed on the Security Council agenda. Members will recall that the first time was four decades ago. Our sovereign right to life in peace and unimpeded development and our right to determine our own destiny were in great jeopardy. Then we had to defend our very existence and our dignity. Now, four decades later, we have to defend ourselves from ourselves. That is indeed a historical paradox, for a country which was one of the founding fathers of the United Nations - a country committed to peace among peoples, nations and States, a country dedicated to the freedom, equality and prosperity of all, a country devoted to the principle of non-interference and to the sovereign right of all to decide freely on their own future - has now become a matter of concern for the Council, which stands for and protects those very values.

That concern is fully justified. The Yugoslav crisis threatens peace and security on a large scale.

Yugoslavia is in conflict with itself. We have, paradoxically, reached this dangerous point at a time when the atmosphere of present-day international relations is most favourable. It is a time when the individual is emerging as a major pillar of all rights and freedoms; when national

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aspirations have been fully recognized, along with the prevailing trends towards ever-broader political and economic integration; when self-determination, as an undeniable and legitimate principle, is melding with the necessity to share in a common future.

Peace is a precondition for and a basic goal of all individual, national and global aspirations. The Security Council is precisely the forum where such concepts of peace are endorsed and protected and where vistas for a safe and stable peace are opened up. I believe that that very goal and those very obligations are what the sponsors of the draft resolution before the Council had in mind. Peace is what Yugoslavia needs most at this crucial point.

Complex and multifaceted as it is, the Yugoslav agony can hardly be presented in a single statement. It would be neither possible nor useful at this juncture to deal with all its causes. But what has been and must be said is that no factor on the Yugoslav scene is completely free from guilt. None of them has lived up to its responsibilities. At this moment it is of no consequence who was the first to start and who to escalate the crisis further. What matters now is finally to break this vicious circle.

What also must be clearly stated is that most tragic events have taken place in the Republic of Croatia. A heavy toll of human life has been paid; so many homes have been turned into ruins; historical monuments have been damaged. For centuries, the Croats and Serbs have lived there side by side in a common homeland. Here we have a tragedy the Croatian and the Serbian peoples are sharing together. Mutually exclusive political options have pushed them further and further into turmoil. The magnitude of the divisions is evident, but it is absolutely essential to overcome these divisions to the

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

benefit of all. They have to live together and stay where they are, within present boundaries.

The Yugoslav crisis is an integral part of the historical turmoil that has been besetting Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and other parts of the world in recent years. However, the Yugoslav crisis has an additional and most tragic component, due to the historical, the political and, particularly, the ethnic differences involved. That, of course, cannot be used as justification; nor can the fact that the tragedy in my country is the sum and substance of the problems that plague Europe and the world of the post-cold-war era.

Whatever has happened to Yugoslavia, a country of many nations and confessions, where the population is more mixed than anywhere else in Europe?

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

The worst side-effects have become dominant on the road towards democracy. The imposition of a single solution, even the use of force, as the sole answer to the crisis, has brought about tragic conflicts, the loss of human life and destruction. Nationalism has reduced all questions of existence to the national question alone. The concept of one territory for one nation has suppressed the spirit of individuality as the backbone of democracy. The main issues of everyday life and human dignity have been marginalized. Mechanisms for the protection of peace and the lives of all people have failed. Regrettably, they have even contributed to the adverse effects. Deep mutual distrust, unilateral acts, the policy of fait accompli and the use of force have blocked all efforts towards a peaceful and democratic resolution of the crisis.

The Yugoslav crisis has jeopardized not only the present and future of our peoples, but also peace and stability in Europe. The Yugoslav crisis is also a serious threat to the new world architecture emerging on the debris of the cold-war era.

After all that has happened in recent years and months, Yugoslavia can no longer be simply repaired. It should now be redefined.

Naturally, at this precise moment it is crucial to consolidate the still fragile cease-fire agreed upon a couple of days ago in order to unblock the avenues of political dialogue.

The Council knows only too well that we have not been able to resolve the crisis on our own. Yugoslavia was overflowing with mutual distrust and heated passions feeding upon the past. That is why we initiated and welcomed the peace action of the European Community under the auspices of the Conference on

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). From the very outset the primary goal has been to help Yugoslavia find a way out of its present agony and assist it in a search for a solution for the future, acceptable to all.

We highly appreciate all the efforts the European Community has made so far. We are especially grateful to His Excellency Mr. Hans van den Broek for his endeavours. We attach great importance to the engagement of the Right Honourable Lord Carrington, the President of the Conference on Yugoslavia.

There is a long list of all the measures, declarations and agreements put forward and adopted by the representatives of the European Community and all the Yugoslav factors since late July. It was an earnest and legitimate endeavour by Europe to put an end to violence and have the problems and differences settled peacefully, in the spirit of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. It was a sincere desire to help Yugoslavia shape its future in concert with the interests of all its peoples.

In other words, from the very outset the basic principles have been: the unacceptability of any unilateral or forcible changes of borders; protection of, and respect for, the rights of all in Yugoslavia; and full recognition of all legitimate interests and aspirations.

Unfortunately, armed conflicts have persisted even after the Cease-Fire Agreement and the Memorandum of Understanding on the extension of the activities of the European Community Monitoring Mission were signed. The commitments have not been honoured. Further loss of life and destruction have ensued.

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

In such circumstances, the decision of the CSCE Crisis Committee to stop arms deliveries to all the parties involved was quite rational and most significant.

The CSCE and the European Community had to make yet another effort. The Conference on Yugoslavia was inaugurated on 7 September 1991 in The Hague. The mechanism of regular ministerial meetings at the republic and federal levels, presided over the Right Honourable Lord Carrington, was set up. The first such meeting took place on 12-13 September 1991. The decision was reached to form two commissions: a commission to deal with constitutional issues and future relationships between the Yugoslav Republics and a commission for human and minority rights.

The opening of the Conference on Yugoslavia was marred by the escalation of conflict. Its continuation and its work were put in question. Lord Carrington therefore conferred with the Presidents of Croatia and Serbia, as well as with the highest officers of the Yugoslav People's Army, as those most directly concerned and capable of influencing the establishment of a cease-fire and the creation of conditions for continuing the Conference.

At Igalo on 17 September the three leaders most directly concerned with the current grievous loss of life met before the Yugoslav peoples and the peoples of the world and made a joint statement. It recognized deep and dangerous divisions between the three leaders about responsibility for what was happening in Yugoslavia, and equally about the country's political future, but on one thing the three leaders were united: that no viable solution for the Yugoslav peoples could result from violence and killing and that they had to talk together to determine whether they could agree on the future.

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

The three participants pledged that everyone within their control and under their political and military influence should cease fighting immediately. The signatories have taken full responsibility for that crucial pledge.

First, they therefore reaffirmed the Cease-Fire Agreement of 1 September.

Secondly, they accepted their responsibility in the current phase of the Yugoslav agony.

Thirdly, they recognized divisions between them, but also what unites them: the fact that a viable solution can be reached only through negotiation, and not through warfare.

Fourthly, they accepted precise commitments and responsibilities.

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

The fact is that these commitments were not fully and completely honoured. Violence, loss of life and destruction even increased in the days that followed. However, now it appears that the utmost priority - to stop all the hostilities - has prevailed. We can hope that a much needed breakthrough has been made.

What we need now is a genuine readiness on the part of the international community, the European factors - the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the European Community - and, most importantly, on the part of all Yugoslav parties to utilize the framework of the Hague Conference in order to consolidate peace and to open political dialogue on the future of Yugoslavia.

Let me stress once again: a stable and lasting peace is the highest priority. However, it is most important to ensure the functioning of the vital institutions in the country in the period of transition. Short of the assistance of the international community, the European Community in particular, we cannot avert an economic collapse and social chaos. Moreover, the hope that the prospects of integration into European institutions may be opening up to us may help to calm emotions and to identify common interests in a new integration. Conversely, the weakening of that hope may fuel the negative energies of nationalist exclusiveness, which is pushing us towards the abyss of perpetual conflict.

Naturally, we do not harbour hopes that someone else will assume our responsibilities and do for us what we alone can and must do for ourselves. A future for everyone in Yugoslavia can only be secured through democracy, thorough social and economic reforms and development based on the values of the emerging era. No matter how committed we are to the principles of

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

independence and non-interference, we can ensure a future only if we recognize that in this world we truly depend on each other on vital issues of peace, progress and human rights and freedoms. If we accomplish that in Yugoslavia, we shall end a tragic period in our history. My hope is that such an outcome is still within reach - all the more so, since the draft resolution submitted by Austria, Belgium, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland represents a sincere effort to ensure that this ministerial-level meeting will enhance the endeavours of the European Community and, above all, help Yugoslavia to find the way to help itself.

Indeed, the Yugoslav example may identify the new concept of the United Nations. It also reaffirms the original principles of the Charter and the need to preserve international peace and security and to resolve crises primarily through regional arrangements and mechanisms, and affirms the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe. In other words, for the sake of Yugoslavia, Europe and the world, it is now essential for the Yugoslav disputes to be resolved through the Hague Conference and for its work to continue unimpeded; for the efforts towards peace and dialogue invested by the European Community under the auspices of the CSCE to be supported; for the international community to be engaged in an active and constructive way in seeking a solution by imposing a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to all parties in Yugoslavia; and for everyone to refrain from any action that might contribute to increasing tension and to impeding or delaying a peaceful and negotiated outcome to the conflict in Yugoslavia.

Every assistance to Yugoslavia along these lines will represent an invaluable and necessary contribution towards putting an end to this tragic

(Mr. Loncar, Yugoslavia)

period, and offer the best example as to how the highest values of humanity and freedom, peace and democracy can be protected - the values whose major promoter is the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) (interpretation from French): Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on France's assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. I am quite sure that, thanks to the competence of Ambassador Mérimée, the Council will have all the assets it needs to carry out its work successfully.

I should also like to express my satisfaction at seeing Mr. Roland Dumas presiding over this meeting. Mr. Dumas represents a neighbouring country that is close to Belgium, a country with which we share many strong political, economic and cultural ties. May I pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Ayala Lasso of Ecuador, whose skills played a decisive role in the successful completion of the Council's work in the month of August.

I must also offer my apologies for the absence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Belgium, Mr. Mark Eyskens. He has asked me to express his regrets regarding his absence today, urgent business having forced him to return to Brussels yesterday.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

The Belgian delegation has listened with close attention to the statement made in the Council by the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia.

The draft resolution that it is my honour to introduce today with some other European members of the Security Council is the fruit of long negotiations to which most of the delegations at this table have contributed. This text, if adopted, would finally bring reality into conformity with law. In fact, it had become essential for the Council to deal with the distressing situation in Yugoslavia. How could we, in fact, not have a very strong reaction to the intensification of the fighting and its senseless and tragic consequences? How could we fail to react to the loss of human life and the significant material damage? Above all, how could we not be extremely concerned over the consequences to the other countries of the region, particularly those bordering on the country in question?

For Belgium, it is obvious that this situation is a threat to regional peace and security. This threat is particularly destabilizing because it is taking place in an extremely delicate context of political and economic change in central and eastern Europe.

For these reasons, ever since the beginning of the crisis, the European Community and its member States have steadily increased their efforts. There have been numerous contacts among the parties and, with the support of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), this has made it possible for us to establish machinery such as that calling for a cease-fire, the sending of monitors to the area and the convening of a peace conference.

Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered in setting up that machinery, the European Community and its member States reiterated, on

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

17 September, their determination to contribute to a political and negotiated settlement on the basis of the following principles: the unacceptability of the use of force; the unacceptability of any modification of frontiers through the use of force - modifications which they were determined not to recognize; respect for the rights of all those who live in Yugoslavia, including minorities; the need to take into account all legitimate concerns and aspirations.

In order to increase its chances of success, the European Community and its member States, having already enjoyed the support of the States participating in the CSCE, urgently need to see their efforts receive the support of the Security Council and, indeed, of the entire international community. Moreover this would be in conformity with Chapter VIII of the Charter.

This explains the action of Belgium and other European members of the Council in introducing this text today. My country believes that broader support for the efforts of the Twelve might make it possible for the observer mission of the European Community to carry out its task successfully and might make it possible for the cease-fire really to enter into force.

Once the groundwork has been laid, the parties will be free to settle their dispute peacefully within the framework of an international conference. It is my hope, and the hope of the Belgian Government, that the adoption of the present draft resolution will lead to an end to the infernal cycle of violence.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Belgium for his kind words addressed to me and to my country.

Mr. MOCK (Austria) (interpretation from French): Sir, I am particularly pleased that this meeting of the Security Council at the ministerial level is being conducted under your presidency, that of the Foreign Minister of France. The political weight of your country and its status as a permanent member of the Security Council are a guarantee that our efforts will be successful in finding a peaceful solution of the extremely serious situation in Yugoslavia.

The international community deplores the bloodshed, the human suffering and the destruction suffered by the peoples of Yugoslavia in recent months, particularly in Slovenia and Croatia. Austria, as a neighbouring country, views with great concern the developments in Yugoslavia. The armistice, albeit fragile, which has prevailed for a few days, must be utilized by everyone to make the most energetic efforts to achieve a negotiated solution.

Austria has always supported all initiatives taken in the European Community and by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia which, at least in Slovenia, have led to a stabilization of the situation. So far, unfortunately, no similar progress has been shown in Croatia.

I make an urgent appeal to all the participants in the Hague Conference to make every effort to reach a political solution to this armed conflict. Violence can never resolve this conflict. I have always shared the view that a peaceful and lasting solution should enjoy international support.

The peace initiative of the European Community must be supported by all. The international community as a whole has a responsibility to put an end to the armed conflict in Yugoslavia. At the same time, no appeal to the collective security organs can release the European regional organizations from their own responsibility.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

First of all, a halt must be put to the escalation of violence, which could now spread to Bosna i Hercegovina. It is in that spirit that Austria took the initiative on 19 September of coming to the Security Council and, during the informal consultations held on 20 September, calling for appropriate action by the Council in the form of a resolution.

The text before the Council today, co-sponsored by Austria, is the first concrete and meaningful contribution by the international community to a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

(Mr. Mock, Austria)

Allow me to reiterate the principles on which, in my opinion, future relations between the peoples in Yugoslavia should be based: absolute priority for the strict observance of the prohibition on the use of force; implementation of the right to self-determination in keeping with the aspirations expressed by the peoples of Yugoslavia; no changes by force of the borders between the Yugoslav republics; full implementation of the obligations in the Paris Charter for a New Europe concerning pluralistic democracy, the state of law, and respect for human rights; and, finally, binding agreements on protection for all minorities and effective guarantees for equal participation in the political process by all groups in the population.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. CORDOVEZ (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Inspired by the feelings that bind my country with yours, Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to express my satisfaction at seeing you preside over this ministerial meeting of the Council.

The 15 members of the Security Council that are meeting today, all of which are friends of Yugoslavia, have come to this meeting deeply troubled by the situation and anxious to bring about a peaceful solution. The political constitution of my country proclaims that peace and cooperation must guide the system of international coexistence. Ecuador has always condemned the use of force or the threat of the use of force as a means of settling conflicts, and we have repudiated dispossession by war as a source of right. Our Constitution thus promulgates the peaceful and legal settlement of disputes, and declares that international law should be the norm for conduct by States.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

When the crisis in Yugoslavia occurred, Ecuador greatly regretted the dramatic and bloody disagreements which led on to death and destruction; Ecuador expressed its hope that the wisdom of all the components of the State would make it possible for negotiated, just and appropriate solutions for that country to be found.

Ecuador also looked favourably on the initiatives of the European Economic Community, of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of the other regional bodies in Europe which offered their assistance to facilitate an urgent and appropriate solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

Ecuador does not accept modifications of borders brought about through the use of force, and is completely convinced that a peaceful solution should be sought which would not undermine the principle of the unity and territorial integrity of States.

On the basis of the guidelines that I have just laid down, and having received the letter from the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Ecuador can offer its most enthusiastic support in the hope that the Security Council will respond to the requirements of this distressing and tragic situation; in the hope that it will offer singular support to regional initiatives aimed at bringing about a solution to the conflict by lending them all the moral and political authority of its support; in the hope, too, that it will adopt a decision aimed at placing an embargo on the sale of weapons to Yugoslavia within the context of Chapter VII of the Charter; and in the hope that it will request the Secretary-General's valuable support in seeking a peaceful solution.

(Mr. Cordovez, Ecuador)

With these considerations in mind, Ecuador will vote for the draft resolution which the Security Council has been studying this afternoon, with the heartfelt desire to find a just, peaceful and honourable solution in Yugoslavia, a country linked to mine by old ties of fraternal friendship.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for External Relations of Ecuador for his words addressed to me.

Mr. SHAMUYARIRA (Zimbabwe): I must begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, on convening this unique meeting of the Security Council, and I am very pleased that you yourself are in the Chair. You have a lot of experience in diplomatic work; your country has played a very important part in resolving many disputes around the globe, and we are very pleased that you are here personally to give your guidance and direction to this Council during this particular meeting.

Having been briefed by you, Mr. President, through the consultations that have taken place, and having listened to the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, my friend, Mr. Budimir Loncar, we indeed welcome the action that is being proposed here.

When the idea of this resolution was first mooted, earlier this week, we were very concerned at the fact that we had not heard a request or a clear statement from Yugoslavia. We now have the letter written by Yugoslavia and the very full statement that was made by Mr. Loncar this afternoon. These two statements indicate that the Government of Yugoslavia welcomes the initiative that is being proposed in the draft resolution.

In these circumstances, my delegation would like to associate itself with the action that is being proposed in the draft resolution. We insist on the sovereignty of nations, big or small, and even if a country is in grave

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

difficulties, as Yugoslavia is, we would not like to see its interests being trampled underfoot. However, in these circumstances the people of Yugoslavia would benefit a great deal from the action that is being proposed, and the Foreign Minister of that country has indicated his full support for this action and his welcome of it. We welcome that, and on that basis we will vote for this draft resolution.

The situation in Yugoslavia is, of course, a matter of great concern to us, particularly to those of us that are members of the Non-Aligned Movement. Yugoslavia is a founder member of that Movement, and is the current Chairman of it; we are therefore gravely disturbed by the deterioration of the security situation there and the difficulties which the federal Government is facing in trying to maintain law and order.

At a time when we had begun to look forward to the dawn of a new era of universal peace and tranquillity, we are indeed grieved by the outbreak of tribal hostilities between the peoples of Yugoslavia and by the escalating toll of death and destruction that has shaken the very foundations of the Federal Republic, a republic we have learned to admire and emulate for the last several years.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

Zimbabwe in particular counts itself amongst the very close friends of Yugoslavia. Foreign Minister Cordovez of Ecuador has indicated that all the countries round this table are Yugoslavia's friends. We regard ourselves as even closer friends. Yugoslavia supported our struggle for independence in Zimbabwe for many years, and after independence we worked very closely with that country. Indeed, we used to model ourselves in some respects on Yugoslavia, in trying to build bridges between racial groups and tribal groups within Zimbabwe. We used to say that Yugoslavia is a country with three religions, with four different languages, with five Republics and with many, many, many tribes, and that if such a society can build one country and one nation, we too can do so.

For that reason, we are shattered, and indeed angered, by the turn of events in that friendly country. We in Zimbabwe would like to offer whatever assistance we are capable of giving, through the international community, through multilateral agencies, to our friends and our collaborators in Yugoslavia.

The toll of death and human suffering in Yugoslavia is indeed horrendous. Many refugees are now crossing the border and going to neighbouring countries to seek refuge. That will put a great burden on the neighbouring countries. The international community itself may be called upon to assist the increasing number of refugees from Yugoslavia. In this domain, we should stand ready to give what assistance we can.

My delegation is happy that the action being taken today is focused on two areas. The first is to strengthen the hand of the Secretary-General in seeking a peaceful political solution to the problems in Yugoslavia. We support that effort. The second is to stop the flow of arms into Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe)

We are told that there are arms flowing in from different countries, from different borders and from different areas, for different agendas and different purposes. I think it would be a great help if those arms were not allowed to enter Yugoslavia. Mr. Loncar made that very clear in his opening statement. We support that initiative and the use of the powers under Chapter VII of the Charter specifically for that purpose.

We have noted a number of loose and open-ended statements implying that further action can and should be taken to assist. We would urge that this enthusiasm be tempered by caution. We believe that the action that should be taken in future should be in the area of humanitarian and welfare activities, to alleviate the suffering of those Yugoslavs who need assistance. But whatever action the Security Council has to take must be taken properly and within the terms of the Charter and the practice of this body.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): His Excellency Mr. Abdulkarim El-Eryani, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Yemen, would have liked to participate personally in this important meeting of the Security Council convened at the Foreign Minister's level. Regrettably, however, Mr. El-Eryani is still on his way to New York; he is expected to arrive this evening. In any event, Sir, I wish to extend to you his sincere greetings and, on his behalf, I wish to congratulate you on presiding over this meeting.

I should like to take this opportunity also to express our great satisfaction in Yemen at the improved relations of cooperation between France and the Republic of Yemen, especially since Yemen was unified and, under very

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

difficult circumstances in the region, embarked on the consolidation of the foundations of a free, democratic system.

The question of the present situation in Yugoslavia has acquired special significance because, in the context of the major changes now taking place on the international scene, it provides us with an example of the new type of problems that will face the United Nations in the last decade of the twentieth century and thereafter. Such problems are characterized by political upheavals inside States and a slide towards fragmentation and even anarchy. Those new problems will no doubt make it necessary for the United Nations, and particularly for the Security Council, to deal with them creatively, in order to avoid their aggravation and escalation to the point where they would threaten regional and international security.

In addition, there are living examples other than that of Yugoslavia in the cases of Liberia and Somalia. Furthermore, there is a distinct possibility that similar problems will arise in other parts of the world.

We in Yemen notice a tendency to deal with these new developments experimentally, case by case - such an approach sometimes runs counter to the established principles of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principles of respect for the sovereignty of States and non-intervention in their domestic affairs.

Since the manner in which these new problems are dealt with will greatly affect the nature of future international relations and the position of the United Nations, as well as the Charter and international law, we believe that the principles of the Charter must not be disregarded and that we must not engage in experimentation in settling internal disputes. This does not, however, prevent us from reviewing and updating some of the bases on which we

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

work; indeed it is incumbent upon us to do that in order to ensure that they are in conformity with the current changes and can help us in dealing with them in a sound, legal manner.

With regard to the question under consideration, we are really chagrined to see the Security Council having to meet today to consider the present situation in Yugoslavia and the fighting which is taking place in that country with the resultant heavy loss in human lives and great material damage.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

It adds to our pain and concern to find that that country - with which we share the same principles and goals in the Non-Aligned Movement and which even chairs the Movement at this historic juncture - has become unable to perform its duties as Chairman of the Movement due to those internal problems. We would have hoped not to need such a measure within the Security Council, in adherence to the provisions of the United Nations Charter which stipulate non-interference in the internal affairs of any State Member of the United Nations.

However, out of respect for the desire of the representatives of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia, and after listening to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, we agreed to discuss this question in the Security Council in the hope that this measure would contribute to halting the military operations in Yugoslavia and help all parties to settle their disputes and differences peacefully.

In this context, while supporting the draft resolution before us, we wish to address a sincere appeal to all parties to the conflict in Yugoslavia to work together to settle their differences peacefully and, through dialogue, to preserve the unity of their country and put a halt to the senseless bloodshed. We appeal to them to work together to ensure a future of peace and prosperity for all the people of Yugoslavia. We also appeal to all countries capable of contributing to the establishment of peace in Yugoslavia to do their utmost to achieve that goal with the greatest speed. At the same time, we hope that all countries will avoid taking any measures that might contribute to the heightening of tension or the creation of any obstacle or cause for delay in the achievement of a peaceful settlement of the dispute in Yugoslavia.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

In conclusion, we do hope that it will not be necessary for this matter to be raised again in the Security Council. We also hope to see Yugoslavia resume its natural role and activity in the near future side by side with the other States members of the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Yemen for his kind words addressed to my country.

Mr. MALMIERCA PEOLI (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, I should like to express to you, Sir, my own and my delegation's pleasure at seeing you presiding over this meeting of the Security Council. We are familiar with your statesmanlike qualities and we appreciate the important role that your country has been playing in international affairs. I would also like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador José Ayala Lasso, Permanent Representative of Ecuador, who so wisely guided the Council's work last month.

Cuba shares the concern of the international community over the serious crisis in Yugoslavia. The outbreak of separatist movements in various Republics and the state of war existing between Croatia and the federal army - despite the cease-fire achieved on 22 September - threaten to defeat efforts to bring about a peaceful settlement among the six Republics and to give a new appearance to the Federal Republic while maintaining its unity and basic character.

We have followed attentively the efforts of the European Community and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, at the urging of Yugoslavia itself, to restore peace and dialogue in that country, which is a friend of ours. We sincerely hope that the cease-fire will be firmly enforced and that the conference on Yugoslavia, with the participation of all concerned

(Mr. Malmierca Peoli, Cuba)

parties, will reach a successful conclusion as soon as possible. We have said as much to the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, our friend Mr. Budimir Loncar, whose opinion we have solicited ever since our arrival in New York.

Our delegation has actively participated in consultations between the States members of the Council and Yugoslavia that have contributed to the elaboration of the draft resolution before us, in favour of which we will be voting. We hope that this decision of the Security Council will help to ensure that Yugoslavia and its people - friendly to our own - will make progress towards the settlement of its current internal conflicts and achieve the stability and lasting peace that it desires and needs.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for External Relations of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BECHIO (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Côte d'Ivoire is pleased to see you, Sir, presiding over this important ministerial-level meeting of the Council, which is now considering a draft resolution that will certainly be a landmark in the annals of our Organization. I would also like to congratulate Ambassador Mérimée for his work this month and to convey to his predecessor, Ambassador Ayala Lasso, my delegation's gratitude for the competent manner in which he discharged his functions last month.

Mr. President, your presence and that of your eminent colleagues clearly shows the increased interest of the international community in the Security Council and the undisputed place it holds in the settlement of conflicts. My Minister, Mr. Essy, would have liked to be here personally. Unfortunately, he is still en route to New York, where he will arrive tonight. He asked me to

(Mr. Bechio, Côte d'Ivoire)

send these greetings to you and your eminent colleagues assembled here this evening.

I should like to take this opportunity to recall the special relationship, Sir, that exists between your country, France, and my country, Côte d'Ivoire, a relationship based on traditional friendship and fruitful cooperation.

The delegation of Côte d'Ivoire, like all other delegations here, is deeply concerned by the tragic events now shaking friendly and non-aligned Yugoslavia. We are saddened to see that peoples faced with a difficult situation have found only the medium of violence to settle the disputes between them, thus rejecting dialogue and negotiation. Fortunately, action is under way to restore dialogue and to find happy solutions to painful problems. Côte d'Ivoire, faithful to its unshakeable policy of seeking peace, will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

(Mr. Bechio, Côte d'Ivoire)

We cannot fail, however, to regret that in similar circumstances less than a year ago, when the Council deplored thousands of deaths and thousands of refugees, it issued only a presidential statement welcoming the efforts of Heads of State of the subregion. But having said that, I reiterate that we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

I want also to take this opportunity on behalf of my Government to express the hope that moderation and tolerance will inspire the parties to the conflict so that peace will return to Yugoslavia very soon.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Côte d'Ivoire for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

Mr. NASTASE (Romania): Allow me first, Sir, to extend to you, to your country and to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Mérimée the congratulations of the delegation of Romania on France's assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of September. I am particularly pleased, Sir, to see you in the Chair as we all know the diplomatic stature you enjoy throughout the world.

I take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to His Excellency Mr. Jose Ayala Lasso of Ecuador for the excellent work done under his presidency during the month of August.

Today's meeting of the Security Council has great significance for Europe, and in particular for the area to which Romania and Yugoslavia belong. Unfortunately, during recent months the eastern part of Europe seems to have become a theatre of dangerous events.

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

Just a while ago I had the opportunity to present before the General Assembly the views of our Government on the most recent developments in our area. Let me recall the main points now, before the Security Council.

As pointed out here by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia himself, neighbourly and friendly Yugoslavia, to our deepest regret, has been severely affected by the consequences of a violent and destructive conflict whose main lesson is that the use of force leads nowhere but to further complication of existing problems.

We in Romania are very sensitive to the dangerous developments in Yugoslavia and are of the opinion that the countries bordering on Yugoslavia have the great responsibility to act in such a way as to prevent the aggravation of the conflict and to facilitate a solution at the negotiating table. We are also of the view that that solution will be viable only to the extent that it comes from within Yugoslavia. Indeed, Yugoslavia's neighbours, the other European countries and the United Nations have to do everything in their power to help the parties involved come to an agreement.

History teaches us that imposed solutions cannot last, irrespective of the intentions of their sponsors. The only wise stand consonant both with the interests of all the Yugoslav peoples and with the objectives and common interests of the whole of Europe is a stand that takes fully into account the vital interests of Yugoslavia. Such a simple truth must not be ignored within the United Nations.

During the collective informal consultations devoted to the situation in Yugoslavia, our delegation had the occasion to express very clearly Romania's stand on the issue as such and on the set of proposals advanced by a number of

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

countries which had requested the urgent consideration by the Security Council of the situation in Yugoslavia. The situation is indeed tragic. We deplore the fighting in Yugoslavia, which is causing our neighbour heavy loss of human life and material damage.

In that context, it is entirely natural that we have fully supported and are fully supporting the efforts undertaken at the European level to restore peace and dialogue in Yugoslavia. We have welcomed the agreements on a cease-fire. My country was no less alarmed than any other European State by the violations of the cease-fire and the continuation of the fighting in Yugoslavia.

Our basic position has been that here in the Security Council our main concern should be to find the best way to encourage the Yugoslav parties to come to an understanding by themselves on issues dividing them, and also to support the efforts of the European Community intended to assist those parties to reach such an understanding.

We believe the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council responds to that concern. I would highlight the particular importance of some of the provisions of that draft resolution. One of them is the paragraph that urges the parties to abide by the cease-fire. This is a basic prerequisite for a peaceful settlement of the crisis. Also of paramount importance is the Council's decision to institute a complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia until peace and stability have been established. We hope that all countries will observe that Council decision in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter. We have to recall that the illegal introduction of weapons to Yugoslavia has contributed, to a great

(Mr. Nastase, Romania)

extent, to the current obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

We find great merit in the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution which are meant to support the efforts for peace and dialogue undertaken under the auspices of the member States of the European Community with the support of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We are also convinced of the value of the efforts to be undertaken by the Secretary-General. We give full support to his endeavours and will be awaiting with hope his report to the Security Council.

We should like to express our appreciation to all those representatives in the Council, particularly our colleagues from the non-aligned group, for having found the basis for consensus action by the Council. As in the past, the delegation of Romania remains devoted to the unity of the Council, which is a basic prerequisite for our common success. Therefore, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution in the hope that implementation of its provisions will make a real contribution to the peaceful settlement of the tragic situation in Yugoslavia.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. SOLANKI (India): I am delighted, Sir, to see you in the Chair at this meeting. You represent a country we admire, and the India-France relationship is one that we cherish. I offer you my cooperation and my good wishes for success in your efforts.

The international community is watching the unsettling, indeed tragic, developments in Yugoslavia with alarm. My own country, whose ties with Yugoslavia are burnished by history and strengthened by friendship and

(Mr. Solanki, India)

cooperation, has been grieved and greatly concerned by the fratricidal violence tearing that country apart and beginning to imperil peace in the immediate vicinity of Yugoslavia.

My delegation is therefore behind all efforts, in particular those of Yugoslavia itself, to see how this violence and conflict can be brought to a speedy end.

The Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia has, through his letter and also orally, apprised us of the precarious, indeed perilous situation with regard to Yugoslavia. The Security Council as a result, being formally seized of the matter, is in a position to consider what contribution it can make in the circumstances. Needless to say, a formal request by the State concerned is an essential requirement in such cases before the Council can take up the matter.

(Mr. Solanki, India)

At the same time, we must not forget the provision contained in the time-tested Charter of the United Nations. Article 2, paragraph 7 clearly states:

> "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state".

Let us therefore note here today in unmistakable terms that the Council's consideration of the matter relates not to Yugoslavia's internal situation as such, but specifically to its implication for peace and security in the region. Internal conflicts are for the State concerned to address, with assistance from its friends or well-wishers, if it so desires. The Council's intervention becomes legitimate and acceptable only when any conflict it faces has serious implications for international peace and security. The wisdom of such an approach deserves emphasis, because it has implications for the Council's reputation and efficacy.

We support international attention and contributions towards the settlement of the issue. However, we believe that both the substance and the form of international assistance, if it is to succeed, must adhere to the fundamental principles of the Charter in its solicitude and despatch in responding to crisis situations.

Yugoslavia's European neighbours have made assiduous efforts to address the problem. Within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the norms of international relations, they have pursued laudable initiatives to promote a conciliation and negotiation process in Yugoslavia. These efforts have been undertaken with the consent and request of the Yugoslav authorities, and all parties concerned have welcomed them.

(Mr. Solanki, India)

The European Community's efforts, under the leadership of its current President from the Netherlands and its mediatory endeavours through the Hague Conference, under its Chairman, Lord Carrington, deserve commendation and support. The European Community Monitoring Mission, accepted by the Yugoslav authorities and parties, is an instrument which can be utilized to facilitate and ensure the process towards the return of peace and stability.

Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter provides for an appropriate role for regional arrangements or agencies. Article 52, paragraph 3 specifically states:

"The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements ... on the initiative of the states concerned".

Article 54 requires that:

"The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements".

Thus the Charter's endorsement of regional efforts is available to reinforce the letter.

India joins in the appeal to all concerned in Yugoslavia to eschew violence and instead resort to peaceful methods and dialogue. An enduring cease-fire is an obvious prerequisite. We hope that the people of all parties in Yugoslavia will pursue in earnest a peaceful political process of dialogue which will ensure conciliation and eventual restoration of regional peace and stability.

India, as Yugoslavia's traditional well-wisher and friend, fervently wishes for tranquillity to return to that country.

(Mr. Solanki, India)

The main purpose of the draft resolution is, in my delegation's view, to throw the Council's moral and political weight behind collective regional efforts. Through the draft resolution the Council wishes to encourage a peaceful political dialogue in Yugoslavia and extends its support to all such endeavours. It addresses the principal element of a possible threat to international peace and security. The provisions of the draft resolution are the product of an intensive process of consultations, particularly with the delegation of Yugoslavia.

As coordinator of the Group of Non-Aligned Members of the Council for this month, my delegation had the honour to initiate and carry out a dialogue so as to project non-aligned concerns in the Council. The non-aligned delegations have engaged in constructive exchanges with the sponsors of the draft resolution. We are glad that these negotiations have been largely fruitful.

Lastly, we trust that the situation in Yugoslavia will start resolving itself in a manner satisfactory to the Yugoslav authorities as well as to all the other parties concerned, thereby restoring peaceful conditions and stability to that troubled region as soon as possible. This is India's fervent hope.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India for his kind words.

I shall now put the draft resolution in document S/23067 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 713 (1991) of 25 September 1991.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. QIAN Qichen (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First, please allow me, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency for this meeting of the Council. With your well-known diplomatic skills and experience, I am confident you will guide this ministerial meeting of the Council successfully.

Over a period of time the domestic situation in Yugoslavia has caused deep concern and anxiety to many countries, including China. The European Community and other European countries outside the Community have carried out many mediating activities to restore peace in Yugoslavia. Today, with agreement explicitly given by the Yugoslav Government, the Security Council is holding this meeting to review the situation in Yugoslavia, and it has adopted a resolution on the question.

The Chinese delegation has voted in favour of the draft resolution, based on the following understanding. This discussion by the Security Council is being carried out in the special circumstances of the explicit agreement given by the Yugoslav Government. The purpose of adopting this resolution is to help stop the domestic armed conflict and restore peace in Yugoslavia at an early date. That is a desire shared by the Yugoslav people of all nationalities. We hope that this action by the Security Council will contribute to the restoration of domestic peace and stability through Yugoslavia's internal peaceful negotiations.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

Here I wish to reiterate and emphasize that it is the consistent position of the Chinese Government that a country's internal affairs should be handled by the people in that country themselves. According to the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations, including the Security Council, should refrain from involving itself and interfering in the internal affairs of any Member State. This principled position of the Chinese Government remains unchanged.

Being a friend of Yugoslavia, China, like many other Member States, sincerely hopes that the parties concerned in Yugoslavia will abide by the cease-fire agreement that has already been concluded and will bring the conflict to an early end, so as properly to solve their disputes by peaceful negotiations and realize peace and stability.

(Mr. Qian Qichen, China)

In our view, the international community, in its endeavours to restore peace and stability in Yugoslavia, must strictly abide by the relevant principles contained in the Charter and international law, scrupulously respect the sovereignty of Yugoslavia and refrain from interfering in its internal affairs.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PANKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): First of all, I should like to bid you welcome to the post of President of the Security Council. You represent a country that has made an outstanding contribution to the development of civilization in various areas, including the art of diplomacy. We are sure that this art, which you possess, will help to bring about a settlement of international problems. It has already shown itself to be successful in the work being carried out by the Security Council today.

The Soviet Union is profoundly alarmed and pained at the tragic turn of events in Yugoslavia which has already taken its toll in human lives and serious material damage. Measures to restore peace and bring about dialogue in Yugoslavia, undertaken by the European Community with the assistance of other European States parties to the CSCE process, has recently made it possible to achieve another cease-fire. Yet, the situation in Yugoslavia - a country towards which we have the most friendly feelings - remains explosive. If this fratricidal, depressing conflict, which has begun to spill over national borders, continues, it will constitute a direct threat to international peace and security.

We are convinced that the most serious political and national differences should not be resolved through mutual acts of violence, which could only lead

(Mr. Pankin, USSR)

to even more complicated problems. In this regard, the Soviet Union has repeatedly made a friendly appeal to all the federal structures of Yugoslavia, the army leaders and the highest representatives of the Republics to stop the fighting and the bloodshed, to sit down at the negotiating table and together to seek a way out of this crisis. We are convinced that the only way to resolve the Yugoslav problems, as well as the problems of many other multi-national States, is through honest negotiation and patient dialogue so as to find mutually acceptable solutions, new forms of cohabitation and cooperation within a shared economic and legal area, retaining ties that have justified themselves historically.

The main point now is to stop the ambitions and the emotions, cease the fighting and prevent any further bloodshed. That is why, together with Austria, Belgium, France and the United Kingdom, we sponsored the resolution just adopted, which calls upon all parties to the conflict immediately to cease hostilities and to resolve their disputes peacefully by means of negotiation at the Conference on Yugoslavia. We were prompted to do so, owing to the consent given by Yugoslavia.

The Security Council is thus proclaiming its full support for the efforts of the European Community and the CSCE, and is calling upon all States to refrain from any action that might lead to increased tension, making a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav conflict more difficult. We consider it important to make full use of the good offices of the Secretary-General in establishing contacts with all those who are able to promote the establishment of peace in Yugoslavia. This too has been reflected in the resolution.

The Soviet Union supports the Council's decision to place an embargo against the shipment of arms to Yugoslavia, on the understanding that such

(Mr. Pankin, USSR)

shipments, should they continue, could lead to a further exacerbation of the situation in the country, in the Balkans and in Europe as a whole. My delegation will continue to spare no effort to promote the peace process to resolve the crisis in Yugoslavia so as to enable those peoples that are all close to us in that friendly country to choose their own future in conditions of peace.

However, the problems that have arisen in Yugoslavia force us to take a broader look at what is occurring. They clearly highlight the significance of a political settlement, not only for inter-governmental conflicts, but also for intra-State conflicts. They show how dangerous is the growth of separatism and national extremism, not only for each individual country, but also for entire regions. The events in Yugoslavia have shown us that, as the cold war recedes into the past, problems and conflicts of a different kind crop up, even in Europe. These problems create delicate tasks for Europeans and the entire international community, and they must be resolved by using new approaches in accordance with the principles both of the Charter and of the CSCE process.

Another lesson to be learned from the events in Yugoslavia is the need to respect the rights of national minorities, if, as was stated by the President of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev, in his statement delivered at the Moscow meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, Europe is to avoid the experience of a stream of refugees, armed conflicts, hatred among nationalities and the destruction of people, towns and villages. It has to ensure strict respect for the rights of minorities on the part of all peoples in its territory. Otherwise, the whole European process would topple, burying human rights as it does.

(Mr. Pankin, USSR)

We Europeans are now facing the challenge of trying to fashion a new Europe to replace blocs, a Europe that is fully democratic, where human rights are observed everywhere. We are convinced that the resolution adopted today by the Security Council, and the spirit of good will, sympathy and unanimity which prompted the adoption of this resolution, will make this goal possible.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HURD (United Kingdom): First of all, may I congratulate you, Sir, on the way in which you have steered this debate and on all the hard work that you and your colleagues devoted to its preparation. We knew that we were in safe hands under your leadership, and so it has abundantly proved.

The background to this meeting is one of months of torment for the peoples of Yugoslavia. The system under which the country was governed has, to a large extent, disintegrated, ambitions have conflicted and, often, there have been unwise actions that have led to violent explosions of force. These explosions have spread, and unless checked they will spread still further.

I think we were all moved by the way in which the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia introduced this discussion. He reminded us in diplomatic language, but unmistakably, that the background to this discussion and this resolution is suffering, bereavement and much fear for the future. Against that background, our aim has not been to interfere or to try to impose a solution - that would not be possible. Rather, we have sought to respond to the pleas of the Yugoslav parties to help them to find a peaceful way through their differences. That plea is symbolized by the presence of our Yugoslav colleague here today.

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

We, in Europe, have been trying to handle the conflict in Yugoslavia as a European matter through the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and through the efforts of the European Community. We have sent monitors to help the parties in Yugoslavia maintain each fragile cease-fire. This effort, the European Community peace conference under the chairmanship of Lord Carrington, the Arbitration Commission, all these are contributions which we believe are most likely to lead to peace. The cease-fire of the last few days seems to be holding rather better than its predecessors, and we hope that the session of the peace conference being held tomorrow may help cement that cease-fire in place. We, in Europe, Mr. President, as you know, have done, and will go on doing, everything which we reasonably can to hold out opportunities for peace to those in Yugoslavia who are tired of war or who may soon become tired of war.

Nevertheless, there have been many false starts. There have been cease-fires made and cease-fires broken. We believed that we needed the unique authority of the United Nations Security Council to emphasize that this is an international concern, with stakes and with implications which go wider than Yugoslavia alone. We set out on 19 September, in the meeting of the European Community of foreign ministers, certain principles which have found numerous echoes in our discussion today, namely, that the use of force is unacceptable, that any change of borders by force is unacceptable, that the rights of all who live in Yugoslavia, including minorities, must be respected, and that there is a need to take account of all legitimate concerns and aspirations. The resolution which we have just adopted is fully consistent with these principles. We felt that declarations were not enough. There has been an abundance of declarations on this subject. We felt that, to emphasize

(Mr. Hurd, United Kingdom)

the seriousness with which the international community viewed the unfolding tragedy in Yugoslavia, we needed positive action.

I am very glad that this resolution has been adopted unanimously. It lends the weight of the Security Council and of the international community as a whole to the efforts in Europe to bring about an end to violence and to bring about conditions for a lasting peace.

I know that some people have suggested in the last few days that it was premature to use the language of Chapter VII. But it is a fact that this conflict which we are discussing has a strong international dimension. The patchwork of nationalities and minorities throughout Central and Eastern Europe means that full-scale war might not be confined easily to a single territory. This action which we have taken will, I hope, serve as a strong reminder to all those in positions of responsibility in Yugoslavia that the attention of the world is fixed on them. They have a responsibility to their own peoples, of course, but also to the ideals which the United Nations embodies.

I hope fervently that this resolution will play a part in bringing a quick return to normalcy in Yugoslavia so that a just and lasting solution can be achieved. It would certainly be a mark of our success if, as we hope, the Security Council does not need to return to this matter.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BAKER (United States of America): Sir, as other speakers have done, I should like to begin by congratulating you as President of the Security Council. I think that the unanimous vote that we have just witnessed is a tribute to your diplomatic skills and energy.

We meet today, of course, because the crisis in Yugoslavia has now descended into what could only be characterized as open warfare. This violent conflict threatens all the peoples of Yugoslavia with terrible economic and social strife, with a sharp deterioration in the most fundamental human rights and freedoms and, above all, with massive bloodshed and massive loss of life.

We are equally concerned about the dangerous impact on Yugoslavia's neighbours, who face refugee flows, energy shortfalls and the threat of a spillover in the fighting. It is this danger of escalation, on which I know we all agree, which makes this a matter of prime concern to this Council.

Many parties in Yugoslavia have contributed to the tragedy that we now see besetting that country. What the United States warned about in June, and for months before that, has come about. Unilateral acts, including those by republics, have foreclosed options for peaceful negotiations and have made the resolution of the tragic situation in Yugoslavia more, not less, difficult and complicated.

A lot of blood has already been lost, but it is time for all parties to commit themselves to resolve their differences in the future in a peaceful way. All parties, especially Serbs and Croats, need to stop the fighting. The cease-fire must be respected as a first step towards shaping what we all hope will be a very different future.

Having said that a lot of parties bear responsibility, in our opinion, let me say that the Government of Serbia and the Yugoslav federal military

(Mr. Baker, United States)

bear, at least in our view, a special, and indeed growing responsibility for the grim future which awaits the peoples of Yugoslavia if they do not stop the bloodshed and reverse the violent course now being pursued.

Clearly, I think that the Yugoslav federal military is not serving as an impartial guarantor of a cease-fire in Croatia. On the contrary, it has actively supported local Serbian forces in violating the cease-fire, causing deaths to the citizens it is constitutionally supposed to be protecting. The military has initiated what I think can only be described as outright military intervention against Croatia, while repudiating the authority of the Yugoslav Government institutions which have sought to control that military.

It is equally clear that the Serbian leadership has been actively supporting and encouraging the use of force in Croatia by Serbian militants and the Yugoslav military.

The apparent objective of the Serbian leadership and the Yugoslav military working in tandem is to create a "small Yugoslavia" or a "greater Serbia", which would exclude Slovenia and a rump Croatia. This new entity would be based on the kind of repression which Serbian authorities have exercised in Kosovo for several years. It would also be based on the use of force, well under way in Croatia and beginning to take shape in Bosnia, to establish control over territories outside the borders of Serbia. The aggression within Yugoslavia, therefore, I think we would all agree, represents a direct threat to international peace and security.

And the use of aggression to determine the future internal borders of Yugoslavia or of Serbia also represents a grave challenge to the values and principles which underlie the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris and indeed the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

We appreciate the concerns of all the peoples of Yugoslavia, including the concerns of Serbs inside and outside Serbia, about their future in the event of the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

But we cannot accept repression and the use of force in the name of those concerns. To do so would seriously undermine what we in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) have laboured to achieve during the past 16 years.

The United States, therefore, firmly supports the 3 September declaration of States participating in the CSCE, cited in today's resolution, that no territorial gains or changes within Yugoslavia brought about by violence are acceptable.

(Mr. Baker, United States)

Of course, as others have said, a tentative truce has been in place between the Yugoslav military and Croatia since Sunday, and now discussions are under way aimed at further implementation of the 17 September cease-fire agreement signed by Serbia, Croatia and the military, and the Hague peace conference, chaired by Lord Carrington, resumes its meetings. We think we should call upon all parties to seize this opportunity to establish a genuine cease-fire and to work towards a negotiated agreement on Yugoslavia's future.

We must collectively protect also, I think, against the spread of this cycle of violence to yet another Yugoslav republic. There can be no mistaking that the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina also hangs in the balance. The Serbian leadership and the Yugoslav federal military do have it in their power to cease violent provocations and the unjustified military occupation of that republic here and now.

The United States, the European community and the entire Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) community have sent a clear message to the peoples of Yugoslavia: the use of force to solve political differences or to change external or internal borders in Yugoslavia is simply not acceptable. Those who resort to force in Yugoslavia - and I would include in that both Serbian and Croatian irregulars - will achieve nothing but tragedy for themselves and for the Yugoslav peoples. The aggressors can only isolate themselves further from the international community by continuing the violence and, by continuing on their present course, those who resort to force will only condemn themselves to exile from the new Europe.

We would doubt that any of the peoples of Yugoslavia truly wish to pay the high price of this warfare. The social and economic regression and

(Mr. Baker, United States)

political and economic isolation that will ensue are a price that we think no rational person would wish to pay.

We commend and strongly support the efforts of the European Community and its member States and the efforts of CSCE members to bring about a cease-fire, to send observers, to convene a conference and to bring about an arbitration commission for the peaceful resolution of these disputes. We will continue to support fully the regional arrangements of the European Community and the CSCE on behalf of these ends.

We also welcome this resolution's support for an international arms embargo, which the United States proposed back on 3 July this year. At the same time, we support the resolution's call for the Secretary-General to bring the good offices of this Organization to bear on the Yugoslav situation in concert with the efforts of regional bodies.

There is another path open to the peoples of Yugoslavia. They can address and reconcile their legitimate aspirations and concerns, including the interests of all national groups in each of the republics, through a process of peaceful dialogue, and indeed, as my colleague Douglas Hurd has just said, ultimately they must determine that they are going to do this.

Today's resolution effectively underscores and reinforces the messages sent to the peoples of Yugoslavia by the CSCE and its participating States. It expresses the full support of the Security Council for the efforts of the CSCE and the European Community to help the peoples of Yugoslavia move towards peace. We support it, of course, enthusiastically and without reservation, and we hope that the peoples of Yugoslavia will heed it and that they will themselves pull back from the war that now sheds this blood across their land.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Secretary of State of the United States of America for his words addressed to me.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): In speaking before the Council, I cannot fail to extend to you, Sir, my congratulations on your country's accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of September. France, a permanent member of the Security Council, has always played its rightful role in the concert of nations, and my delegation is grateful to it for the humanitarian values for which it stands.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zaire, His Excellency, Mr. Ipoto, would have liked to participate in the present meeting of the Security Council at the Foreign Minister level, and would have done so if important events in Zaire since last Monday had not forced him to remain there a few days longer. He asked me to apologize to you, Mr. President, on his behalf for his temporary absence.

I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to Ambassador Ayala Lasso of Ecuador for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the Council's work in August.

The Security Council is considering today the present tragic situation in Yugoslavia, a country with which Zaire has excellent relations. The international community cannot remain indifferent to the tragedy of Yugoslavia, which the Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs has just described to us. It is within this context that the Security Council, which has closely followed developments in that country since the beginning of the crisis, decided to examine this situation, with a view to taking the steps made necessary by its deterioration.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

Indeed, only the concern which all the members of the Council share justifies the resolution we have just adopted; that resolution gives moral and political support to the Yugoslav people and also recognizes the enormous efforts made by the countries of the European Economic Community and the States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the quest for ways and means to re-establish dialogue and peace in Yugoslavia and help the Yugoslav people to restore conditions of stability and security.

Notwithstanding the painful and serious nature of the tragedy unfolding in Yugoslavia, Zaire considers that this conflict, which is ethnic in origin and has evolved into civil war, can be solved by dialogue and negotiations between the parties to the conflict. We think that the conflict has all the hallmarks of an internal crisis.

Yugoslavia, as a Federal State, has been able until recently to hold within it all the Federated States despite their ethnic allegiances and their legitimate aspirations. It is therefore to be hoped that these new aspirations will yield to efforts which will safeguard the vital interests of the Yugoslav people.

Zaire voted in favour of the draft resolution we have just adopted in order to respond to the appeal by the Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs for unequivocal support for the European countries' efforts in seeking a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav conflict.

Bearing in mind the situation which obtained in Liberia, the Council has once again demonstrated its sense of the responsibilities it has in respect of the conflict situations in the world.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to urge the Yugoslav people to persevere in seeking a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the crisis buffeting that friendly country. That is the thrust of resolution 713 (1991). It expresses full support for all the measures flowing from the collective efforts, is designed to achieve an effective cessation of hostilities and contains the decision to implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of arms and military equipment to Yugoslavia until a peaceful solution is reached.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words addressed to me.

I now have a brief statement to make in my capacity as Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

Several member countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) called upon the Security Council to take up the situation in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia gave its agreement to this meeting of the Council.

What are the facts of the problem before us? Several of the Yugoslav Republics are calling for their independence. In the Europe of today, after the wave of freedom it has just experienced, the right of peoples to self-determination cannot be challenged anywhere.

(The President)

But what had partially justified the creation of the State of Yugoslavia - that is, extremely close ethnic affinities - has given rise to or awakened, in an explosive atmosphere, tensions and conflicts that have degenerated into real war. The internal consequences of this - but also the external ones - are extremely serious.

Europe, which had sought with the Charter of Paris to unite and organize itself on the basis of a state of law, is attempting to help the Yugoslav peoples to lay down their weapons and overcome their disagreements through dialogue. That is the thrust of the initiatives taken by the European Community and supported by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

In this difficult situation, Europe needs the international community's solidarity. On several occasions recently, the United Nations has found appropriate answers to crisis or conflict situations, rejecting faits accomplis and the cycle of violence.

The members of the Security Council have once again shouldered a historic responsibility: a responsibility to Yugoslavia - which has accepted this assistance - to enable it to escape immediately from this vicious circle of hatred, vengeance and death; a responsibility to Europe, which, alongside the present upheavals and the awakening of heightened nationalism, is seeing the reappearance of the risks of confrontation that were the tragedy of the past; a responsibility to the international community, since we have to demonstrate that it is possible to build an order of peace and cooperation without recourse to force for the settlement of disputes.

(The President)

We are helping peace in Yugoslavia by decreeing a general and complete embargo on arms deliveries to that country. We are helping peace in Yugoslavia by seeing to it that the observers sent by the European Community, with the agreement and support of the 38 members of the CSCE, can truly monitor the cease-fire. To that end, effective means of action must be given them. "Strength without justice is tyrannical," said Pascal, "but justice without strength is helpless". We are helping peace in Yugoslavia by supporting the efforts to organize and develop a dialogue between the Yugoslavs themselves, who have the primary responsibility, as well as the efforts to find solutions acceptable to all the parties.

In this context, we call upon the Secretary-General to offer his assistance without delay, and we here will remain vigilant.

By adopting resolution 713 (1991), we are giving the peoples of Yugoslavia, which are now so sorely tried and to whom we express our profound solidarity, the hope of a future of peace and freedom based on respect for identities and mutually agreed cooperation.

I now resume my function as President of the Security Council.

There are no other speakers. I take it that the Security Council has now concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.05 p.m.